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Summary

The first session of the 99th Congress saw renewed pressures on legislators to address the growing U.S. trade deficit. Punitive action against Japan and other nations perceived to be the sources of the trade imbalance grew increasingly attractive, as Congress attempted to strike a rhetorical as well as substantive blow for "fair trade." How to design legislation to achieve a "level playing field" remained unclear, however, as a variety of trade-related proposals gained attention. Among them were attempts to protect domestic industries such as textiles, footwear and telecommunications; calls for across-the-board and/or sector-specific import quotas and tariffs; new approaches to multilateral trade talks; and proposals to substantially alter current trade law remedies. All this was done in the name of establishing a more coherent U.S. trade policy, gaining access to foreign markets, and preserving American jobs.

The Reagan administration, in an effort to restrain the flood of protectionist sentiment, announced a new trade policy offensive, offered several new foreign economic initiatives, and reasserted its legislative priorities by focusing on tax reform and other issues. This only slightly moderated congressional intentions, and highlighted the increasingly tense state of relations between the two branches of government. Overall, 1985 was a year of heightened congressional concern over trade issues -- concern that can only continue during this election year.

An Intense, But Variable First Session

In 1985 the level of protectionist fervor in Congress reached heights unprecedented since the 1930s. But the ebb and flow of Capitol Hill politics, whether it concerned hot political topics or relations with the White House, chronicled the session's inconsistency. The schizophrenic tendencies were attributable to a number of factors, among them the large gap between the congressional mood, its accompanying rhetoric and substantive legislative action, and shifting political alignments between parties and the executive and legislative branches. On top of this, the complexity of the subject allowed for a bewildering array of interrelated topics to be discussed, complicating the popular perceptions of the issues and the manner in which legislators addressed them.

Capitol Hill's attention to trade and other foreign economic matters varied in 1985, with pockets of intensity correlated with events like Japan's March announcement that its voluntary restraints on U.S.-bound car exports would be eased, President Reagan's September decision to ignore the footwear industry's case for import relief, and reactions to the administration's fall trade offensive. Legislators tackled the subject again due to the presidential veto in mid-December of the only major trade protection legislation to pass the Congress -- the textile-footwear-copper bill -- and following the periodic release of worsening trade statistics.

Fascination with different methods of dealing with trade issues, particularly as they concerned this country's relations with Japan, shifted several times. Early on, sectoral protection for the automotive, textile and steel industries, perennial objects of congressional concern, maintained a high profile. As the months went by, country-specific measures became popular, cresting in April in an unprecedented number of "Japan-bashing" proposals. Legislative initiatives on trade widened in scope thereafter, with the introduction of many broad-brush import quota and surcharge bills. By the end of the summer, some 300-odd "protectionist" proposals had stacked up. They were in turn followed in the fall by a series of trade reform packages originating from both party and bipartisan sources in both chambers.

Political alignments on trade issues fluctuated as well. At the beginning of the session the issue of retaliation and protection was primarily presented by the traditional promoters of domestic industry protection: "Rust Belt" representatives from both parties and legislators with specialties in trade. But the usually narrow segment of interested lawmakers expanded as trade became a front-page topic in September. Congress came roaring back from its break declaring that the trade deficit, rather than tax reform, was its number-one priority.

In July partisanship on trade issues came to the fore, as several Democratic leaders brought forth with fanfare an import surcharge proposal and initiated a race with their Republican counterparts to author and direct legislative action on trade. The competition remained intense, even as some elements of bipartisanship re-surfaced in the melange of omnibus trade reform packages that began to appear on the scene in October. Moreover, although some

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observers have dismissed its importance, the debate over textiles brought out regional antagonisms -- conflicting interests between primarily southern states with closing factories, and the farm belt, which feared that tougher import quotas would bring retaliation against U.S. agricultural exports.

Although the session lasted almost two months longer than originally intended, the extra time was spent dealing with such contentious matters as tax reform, deficit reduction, defense, farm legislation and appropriations. The committees responsible for reviewing and approving foreign economic measures, principally the Senate Finance and the House Ways and Means committees, were able to hold several highly publicized hearings on trade during the summer and fall, but were ultimately preoccupied by these other topics. Thus, Congress appeared intermittently fixated on and disassociated from trade and foreign economic issues.

Protracted negotiations allowed the Export Administration Act renewal and foreign assistance appropriations to proceed smoothly to the president's desk. However, as floor time became increasingly difficult to get, only bills with the greatest degree of prearranged support were given a chance for a vote. The trade vehicle that ultimately emerged as the leading indicator of congressional feelings, the Textile and Apparel Enforcement Act (HR 1562, S 680), was brought up several times and eventually passed, but most other trade proposals, by fate or design, languished in committee.

The steady tempo of complaints over forest products, auto carriers and machine tools was joined by a number of new subtopics under the foreign economic relations rubric. Rep. Jack Kemp (R, N.Y.) and Sen. Bill Bradley (D, N.J.) lent their high profile-cum-presidential candidate dazzle to the question of exchange rates and international currency reform with a well-publicized conference on the subject in November. High technology and services trade were both the focus of a large number of informational hearings. Among the few sectoral protection measures that maintained momentum through the end of the year were those concerning competition in high technology markets, such as telecommunications. The close of the session featured renewed discussions about a cut in the investment tax credit and its impact on international as well as domestic investment, and a business transfer tax to raise revenues lost from the across-the-board tax cuts.

The White House's focus on international economics lapsed notably during the spring when U.S. Trade Representative William Brock was moved to the Labor Department and Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade Lionel H. Olmer resigned. Their replacements, Clayton Yeutter and S. Bruce Smart, respectively, did not settle in until late summer, a development that provoked congressional criticism and contributed to the perception that Mr. Reagan's trade policy was in disarray at a time of crisis.

The administration girded up during the fall congressional furor and under the leadership of Treasury Secretary James E. Baker took a series of policy initiatives to lower the value of the dollar, investigate foreign trade practices targeted as unfair, and establish a new round of multilateral trade negoriations. Mr. Reagan and his aides insisted that their policy was "free and fair trade" with decidedly pragmatic "we'll use the weaponry we've got" enforcement.

In its effort to appear tough, several aspects of the White House's free trade philosophy had to be softened or ignored -- a development greeted with enthusiasm by activists within the administration as well as by many on Capitol Hill. Turnarounds on exchange-market intervention, support for trade adjustment assistance programs and the usefulness of the Export-Import Bank surprised observers. Still, the White House threat to veto any bill perceived as protectionist was implicit, and invoked as promised in the case of the textile bill.

Like everything else, the president's success with Congress fluctuated during 1985. Mr. Reagan's supporters may point to the success of his fall offensive in stymieing the progress of protectionist proposals, but detractors note that the threat from such legislation could have been thwarted by earlier action from the White House. Other conflicts appeared late in the year. The battle over tax reform and deficit reduction highlighted tensions that have always existed and exacerbated sensitivities between the president and members of his own party.

With only three more years to go, any altercations with legislators prompts the observation that Mr. Reagan has reached the lame-duck stage of his presidency, with its paralyzing effect on attempts to influence congressional activity. The unprecedented level of cooperation Mr. Reagan enjoyed for most of his tenure is now history. After all, legislators spent a good part of 1985 thinking about the elections in 1986. The attractions of applying protectionist solutions to unemployment occurred to both parties. Once loyal Republicans realized how little the president, even one as popular as Mr. Reagan, would help them out on a topic so fundamentally repugnant to his free trade philosophy, no matter how pragmatic he claimed to be. Many determined to distance themselves from the White House on the subject. Overall, the Congress began to go its own way in 1985 regarding foreign economic affairs, and will continue to do so in 1986.

Legislative Activity

For all the emotion and rhetoric, Capitol Hill's output during the calendar year, in terms of bills enacted or even brought to a vote, was terribly small. Japan received two distinct slaps on the hand: a non-binding resolution in March calling for retaliation because of Japan's perceived failure to open domestic markets (see JEI Report No. 14B, April 12, 1985), and a call for an acceleration of Tokyo's defense spending that was tacked on to the foreign aid authorization bill in June (see JEI Report No. 23B, June 21, 1985). Another small jab at Japan: legislation requiring a 25 percent reduction in funding for the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission.

These moves caused expected dismay in Tokyo and added impetus to the formation and implementation of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's "action program." Tokyo's efforts did little or nothing to assuage Capitol Hill, however, as the urge to target Japan continued. At the same time, a closer examination of what fuels Japan's competitive edge resulted in Senate passage of the Japanese Technical Literature Act (S 1073), a program to provide increased transfers of technical information between the American and Japanese private and government sectors (see JEI Report No. 46B, December 6, 1985).

After two years of work, Congress renewed the Export Administration Act June 27. The measure regulates export flows for security, foreign policy or

economic reasons, providing tougher penalties for violators and limiting the president's power to impose embargoes against foreign countries. The bill also streamlines the paperwork for U.S. exporters by easing licensing regulations covering Western Europe and Japan and exempting low technology and agricultural goods from controls. Although great relief was expressed after the bill's passage, the EAA still elicits controversy on Capitol Hill (see JEI Report No. 44B, November 15, 1985) and various efforts remain under way to tinker with its provisions.

As the session wound down, both chambers approved the conference report on the farm bill (HR 2100) with a provision that mandates the government to improve the competitiveness of U.S. agricultural exports through the disbursal of $2 billion worth of surplus commodities and expanded programs for short- and medium-term export credit guarantees. Singled out for at least $325 million a year of assistance for FY 1986-88 are commodities facing "subsidies, import quotas or unfair trade practices of foreign countries." Export assistance of another sort suffered drastic cutbacks, however. Under the continuing appropriations measure passed and signed by the president December 19, the Export-Import Bank's lending authority was slashed to only $1.1 billion for FY 1986. The program was allocated $3.9 billion in FY 1985.

The status of programs to aid industries and workers hurt by imports remained up in the air as legislators left Washington. Out of patience and energy concerning the budget reconciliation compromise, the Senate sent the measure back to conference committee before adjourning December 20. Preserved in it is a plan to alter present trade adjustment assistance programs by eliminating the loan portion of the program, expanding the number of firms eligible for assistance and changing the system of cash payments made to workers. The programs would be financed through a one percent levy on imports, an idea promoted assiduously by Sen. William Roth (R, Del.).

Stopgap funding measures provide some resources for TAA, but only long-term financing will salvage the program. The White House has threatened to veto any measure that includes an import fee; at the same time it has changed its short-term policy on TAA dramatically. Rather than trying to eliminate TAA altogether, as in previous years, a cabinet-level working group is considering revising the program. Indicating the administration rethink, the president announced his support for an additional $100 million in appropriations for worker re-training programs supervised by the Labor Department during the final days of congressional deliberation.

The only protectionist trade legislation passed by both chambers last year -- other than a mildly xenophobic declaration making December "Made in America" month -- was the Textile and Apparel Trade Enforcement Act of 1985, sponsored in the House by Rep. Ed Jenkins (D, Ga.) and in the Senate by South Carolina Sens. Strom Thurmond (R) and Ernest Hollings (D). The bumpy evolution of this measure paralleled the congressional approach to trade, with components of rhetorical fervor, fluctuating momentum of personal and party politics, complex floor tactics and influential administration views.

In its first incarnation, the bill required drastic cutbacks on all textile imports except those from Canada and the European Community. With a strong push from industry and labor groups, the measure enjoyed the backing of

over two-thirds of each chamber. By the time of its final approval December 3, the required import restrictions were milder and, due to the president's refusal to uphold an International Trade Commission decision on import protection for the shoe industry, included provisions on footwear as well as a politically expedient section designed to aid the copper industry.

Overshadowing the action was the constant threat of a presidential veto. The popular perception was that the White House and congressional opponents of the measure were going to let the protectionists go through the motions with this vehicle. By November enthusiasm for the measure had indeed dimmed, particularly in the Senate where serious defections and a series of filibuster threats caused Sens. Thurmond and Hollings to go through elaborate tactical contortions to get a vote on the bill. In the end the floor votes in both chambers tallied far less than the two-thirds required to override the presidential veto (see JEI Report No. 40B, October 18, 1985), enacted December 17 at the eleventh hour.

Indications are that textile backers will hold off on an override attempt until early August in order to reorganize support at a time more politically ripe for restrictive action. The summer attempt would coincide with a new round of multilateral negotiations on the Multi-Fiber Arrangement and fall advantageously close to the 1986 elections. The textile debate continues to heavily influence legislative activity, however, due principally to a publicly played-out argument between Sens. Hollings and John Danforth (R, Mo.) that has blocked consideration of other trade vehicles.

The Attention-Getters

Other legislative options that captured Congress' somewhat fractured attention included the following:

Unfair Trade Practices and Telecommunications Access - Throughout the fall the betting money was on S 1404, the Unfair Trade Practices of Japan bill sponsored by Finance Committee Chairman Bob Packwood (R, Ore.), and S 942/HR 3131, measures threatening sanctions in order to open foreign markets to U.S. telecommunications products, pushed by Sen. Danforth and Reps. Timothy Wirth (D, Co.) and James Florio (D, N.J.). S 1404, the binding version of the March condemnation of limited Japanese market access, was ready for floor action by late summer, while the telecommunications proposals, which differ slightly in each chamber, were given steady attention and prompt approval by the committees they were initially referred to.

Since the telecommunications measure was stymied in the House by the Ways and Means Committee's preoccupation with tax reform, the Senate became the main forum for action during 1985. Both the unfair Japanese trade practices measure and the telecommunications bill were potentially such powerful weapons, with a myriad of implications for ongoing negotiations with Tokyo, that Sen. Danforth and sympathetic Majority Leader Robert Dole (R, Kan.) tried to time their floor appearances carefully. A last-minute plan to bring both to a dramatic vote under a unanimous consent agreement was thwarted by an angry Sen. Hollings, who accused the Republicans of bottling up the textile bill in the Finance Committee and playing partisan politics with trade (see JEI Report No. 1B, January 10, 1986). Sen. Hollings attached the textile bill to both

measures as well as to several other major trade initiatives. Before either bill can make a reappearance, some kind of accommodation with the senator must be reached.

Trade Reform Packages - One of the most significant legislative developments in 1985 -- and part of the backlash over protectionism from more moderate forces on the Hill -- was the compilation of omnibus trade reform bills stemming from both partisan and non-partisan working groups on both sides of the Hill. At their best, these measures, including HR 3522, HR 3777, S 1837 and S 1860, represent a fundamental, often constructive, reworking of trade remedy law. They also attempt to formulate a more comprehensive trade policy and implement an ambitious restructuring of the trade management bureaucracy. At their worst, they are a grab bag of sectoral protection and barrier-raising notions that would restrict rather than restructure world trade.

In retrospect, 1985 was a time of laying the wide range of propositions on the table and beginning the idiosyncratic process of consolidation. Once again, the House Ways and Means Committee is the key to the evolution of such legislation: whatever comes out of Rep. Dan Rostenkowski's (D, Ill.) January retreat (see below) will set the tone for the second session's activity. Moreover, not without a little influence will be Mr. Reagan's own "wish list" for trade reform, which includes a $300 million export subsidy "war chest," legislation on intellectual property, antidumping remedies applicable to non-market economies, negotiating authority for a new round of multilateral trade negotiations and action on antitrust law.

Import Surcharge - When Rep. Rostenkowski, Rep. Richard Gephardt (D, Mo.) and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D, Tex.) introduced their 25 percent import surcharge proposal in July (HR 3035, S 1449), it was the most severe, politically charged legislative option around. As details about the drastic economic side effects of such a surcharge were publicized and congressional interest in textiles, as well as more constructive legislation was galvanized, support for the initiative evaporated. It is still, however, a potent option for protectionists as a trade reform package is assembled. At the same time, even its three main sponsors have acknowledged that rather than serving as a viable policy option, its introduction served several short-term political purposes, i.e., it drew national attention to trade issues, dramatized the Democrat's ability to come up with answers and provided publicity for the sponsors themselves.

Mixed Credits - The legislative centerpiece of White House trade policy is a $300 million "war chest" to provide a mix of grants and low-cost loans to U.S. firms bidding on foreign projects to combat the proliferation of that very practice by other industrialized countries. Most of the progress on the legislative version of the mixed credit program occurred in the House, where HR 3667 weathered controversies over the program's administration (Treasury Department or the Export-Import Bank), the implications for the continued existence of the Eximbank, and sources of funding. Overlapping committee jurisdictions also slowed the bill down; although it passed the House Banking Committee, it faces Foreign Affairs in January. In the Senate broad support at the committee level was tempered by the opposition of a few legislators determined to fight against giving the Eximbank added authority during what was supposed to be a Reagan administration-sanctioned phaseout marked by funding cutbacks.

Other Proposals

Part of the fallout from Capitol Hill's preoccupation with foreign economic issues was the submission of a large volume of legislation. Most of these measures are unlikely to see major action in coming months; their significance is the width and breadth of congressional concern they represent. Exhortative resolutions concerning Japan, particularly those attempting to link defense spending and trade issues, multiplied during the year, as did bills singling out specific industries and even certain products. The narrowness of some of these measures is almost comical: near the close of the session Sen. Frank Murkowski (R, Alaska) submitted a bill demanding tariff protection for U.S. production of fish paste, called surimi, for example.

Despite the focus on the high technology sector, which includes new interest in what the Congress can do in the ongoing battle over semiconductor trade, some proposals concerning auto industry protection remain available for action, including a proposition by Rep. John Dingell (D, Mich.) concerning reciprocal auto safety certification (HR 2248) and measures urging the use of U.S. bottoms to deliver auto imports (S Res 223, HR 3655).

Similarly, the issue of natural resource subsidies continues to generate attention in hearing rooms on both sides of the Hill, and a bill that would apply countervailing duties to subsidized raw material inputs (HR 2451) has already won approval from a Ways and Means subcommittee. The hearings on the topic dealt principally with U.S. problems with the Canadian lumber industry, but also emphasized difficulties in U.S. forest products trade with Japan.

The natural resource subsidy issue has its own momentum, whether it is subsumed under trade law reform or not. Other complex legislative options that received special notice in 1985 and that will continue to interest Congress concern international currency stabilization (HR 3573, HR 3874, S 1548 and S 1571) and negotiating objectives for a new round of multilateral trade talks (all trade packages, but particularly HR 3777, S 1860). Moreover, discussions concerning loosening antitrust regulations for firms involved in stiff international competition (S 1934) and the trade benefits of a business transfer tax (permutations of S 1102) or some other value-added tax should intensify in coming months.

Outlook for 1986

Trade issues will continue to preoccupy Congress in 1986, overlaid with a patina of retaliation and condemnation aimed at Japan. To U.S. legislators, Tokyo is undeniably linked to the trade crisis: cries of unfairness and calls for protectionism usually cite Japanese examples. Even during the debate on textiles, a sector almost insignificant in terms of the trade deficit with Japan, problems with Japanese semiconductors, telecommunications equipment, even baseball bats, were decried. To the Congress, problems with international trade and Japan are all of a piece.

At adjournment House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill (D, Mass.) announced that the next topic the chamber would concentrate on would be trade legislation. Similarly, Ways and Means chairman Rostenkowski indicated that members of his committee would meet for an intensive weekend retreat to contemplate

options for trade law reform during January, a plan reminiscent of the consensus-building process the aggressive Illinois Democrat employed on the tax reform bill. On the Senate side, despite the ongoing squabbling, one of a number of Japan-targeted bills seems likely to get to the floor early in the new year. Add to this the influence of both domestic and international economic news and the congressional calendar, and the passage of a number of trade-related bills seems more likely than ever.

Congress will maintain close scrutiny over progress in sectoral negotiations, Tokyo's efforts to open its markets and expand domestic demand, and its management of the yen. The climate of the first few months of the session will become fiercer, aided by the release of 1985 trade data that will show a record-shattering trade deficit between the United States and Japan. The impact of Treasury Secretary Baker's dollar-lowering program and the resulting rise in the yen is not expected to affect the flow of imports for several months -- creating a readjustment period too long to have any positive influence over Capitol Hill's trade momentum.

As elements of both protectionist and trade reform proposals, separately or combined, move ahead, the White House is likely to be engaged in intense bargaining with legislators. Exactly how much the president is willing to give and take will be a key issue in 1986, particularly regarding the shape of the omnibus trade reform packages. Consideration of such complex legislation may be hampered, moreover, by the brevity of the second session -- currently scheduled to end October 3. Add to this the difficulty of educating members on the intricacies of existing law, the high profile of tax reform, and the time pressures produced by the new mandatory budget-cutting calendar, and it becomes clear that a floor vote before adjournment would be a triumph for trade reform backers.

Still, one must not underestimate the power of emotional debate and the call of an election year, providing momentum for both short- and long-term consideration of trade issues. If a trade bill passes within the first few months of the second session, more likely than not it will be one of the "quick and dirty" initiatives so attractive to legislators facing re-election campaigns. The bills targeting Japan are the surest vehicles. But whether or not Congress starts to take out its frustrations by voting early, foreign economic policy issues will remain in the forefront in 1986 in a variety of incarnations.

For further information, contact Sheri Hoptman.

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The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the Japan Economic Institute.

Appendix 1: 99th Congress Data, First Session

	House	Senate	Total
Days in session	152	170	--
Public bills enacted	93	94	187
Private bills enacted	--	--	--
Total measures passed	596	583	1,179
Total measures reported	387	477	864
Measures pending on calendar	52	94	--
Total measures introduced	5,126	2,651	7,777
Quorum calls	43	20	--
Yea-nay votes	255	381	--
Recorded votes	184	--	--
Bills vetoed	4	--	4
Vetoes overridden	1	1	1

Appendix 2: Legislative Update, 99th Congress

Actions Affecting U.S.-Japan Relations

Bill Number (Sponsor+Cosponsors)	Description Latest Action (Latest JEI Report
H Con Res 23 (Roe +1)	Moratorium on commercial whale harvesting. Introduced 1/3/85; referred to Foreign Affairs Committee; no further action.
H Con Res 27 (Neal + 0)	Japanese payment of security fee to U.S. Introduced 1/7/85; referred to Foreign Affairs Committee; no further action.
H Con Res 54 (Bonker + 63)	Sense of Congress on implementation of international whaling moratorium. Introduced 2/7/85; referred to Foreign Affairs Committee; approved by Foreign Affairs Committee 9/19/85; no further action.
H Con Res 63 (Michel + 27)	Time extension of automobile export restraints by Japan to U.S. access to Japanese domestic market. Introduced 2/20/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
H Con Res 93 (Durbin + 15)	Urges extension of Japanese voluntary restraint agreement on automobiles. Introduced 3/21/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
H Con Res 103 (Bereuter + 0)	Resolution relating to U.S.-Japan trade. Introduced 3/28/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee, no further action.
H Con Res 105 (Michel + 0)	Resolution concerning U.S.-Japan trade. Introduced 4/1/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
H Con Res 106 (Dingell + 48)	Urges president to respond to Japanese trade practices adversely affecting U.S. interstate commerce. Introduced 4/2/85; referred to Ways and Means, Energy/Commerce Committees; no further action.
H Con Res 107 (Rostenkowski + 19)	Calls for retaliation against Japan. Approved by House, 394-19, 4/2/85; placed on Senate Legislative Calendar 4/4/85. (14B, 4/12/85).
H Con Res 108 (Kostmayer + 0)	Condemns alleged Japanese unfair trade practices. Introduced 4/2/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
H Con Res 258 (Dornan + 0)	Urges moratorium on commercial whale killing. Introduced 12/11/85; referred to Foreign Affairs Committee, no further action.
H Res 247 (Jeffords + 15)	Links Japanese trade practices and U.S.-Japan security relations. Introduced 7/31/85; referred to Foreign Affairs Committee; no further action.
H Res 298 (Watkins + 0)	Establishes Ad Hoc Committee on Trade Policy. Introduced 10/7/85; referred to Rules Committee; no further action.
H Joint R 238 (Stark)	Special Trade Management Act. Introduced 4/4/85; referred to Ways and Means; no further action.
H Joint R 430 (Broyhill + 179)	Made in America Month Designation. Introduced 11/13/85; see S.J.R. 206.
HR 320 (Erdreich + 10)	Creates Department of Trade. Introduced 1/3/85; referred to Government Operations Committee; no action (12B, 3/29/85).
HR 539 (Murtha + 141)	Establishes quotas on imported steel products. Introduced 1/21/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
HR 1050 (Dingell + 58)	Limits automobile imports to 15% of U.S. market. Introduced 2/7/85; referred to Energy/Commerce, Ways and Means Committees; no further action.
HR 1060 (Lundine + 12)	Continues voluntary automobile export restraints until end of 1985. Introduced 2/7/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no action.
HR 1139 (Schultz + 3)	Establishes import surcharge. Introduced 2/19/85; referred to Ways and Means, Rules Committees; no action (12B, 3/29/85).
HR 1347 (Dornan + 4)	Export Administration Act amendment to prohibit imports from foreign businesses that export certain goods to communist countries. Introduced 2/28/85; referred to Foreign Affairs Committee; no further action.

HR 1350 (Hertel + 0)	Establishes domestic content requirements for automobiles sold in the U.S. Introduced 2/28/85; hearings by Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee 2/28/85, 3/4/85; referred also to Energy/Commerce Committee (44A, 11/16/84).
HR 1562 (Jenkins + 290)	The Textile and Apparel Trade Enforcement Act of 1985. Quotas on textiles and apparel, import licensing. Introduced 3/19/85; approved by Ways and Means Committee 9/26/85; passed House 262-159, 10/10/85; House concurred with Senate amendments 255-161, 12/3/85; vetoed by president 12/17/85; override attempt delayed until August 6, 1986 12/17/85 (46B, 12/6/85).
HR 1648 (Bonker + 42)	Expansion of international trade in wood products. Introduced 3/21/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
HR 1679 Regula + 9)	Establishes a Department of Trade. Introduced 3/21/85; (referred to Government Operations Committee; no further action.
HR 1786 (Bonker + 1)	Reauthorization and amendment of the Export Administration Act. Introduced 3/28/85; passed House by voice 6/27/85 (26B, 7/12/85); Foreign Affairs subcommittee hearing 11/8/85 (44B, 11/15/85).
HR 1808 (LaFalce + 6)	Amendments to International Trade and Investment Act. Introduced 3/28/85; referred to Ways and Means, Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs, Energy/Commerce, Foreign Affairs, Education/Labor Committees; no action.
HR 1857 (Lundine + 6)	Amends Export-Import Bank Act to provide competitive export financing. Introduced 4/1/85; referred to Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs Committee; no further action.
HR 1858 (Lundine + 6)	Promotes industrial revitalization through establishment of Economic Cooperation Council and other institutions. Introduced 4/1/85; referred to Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs Committee; no action.
HR 1859 (Lundine + 6)	Trade Law Reform and Enforcement Act. Strengthens existing remedies for injurious international trading practices. Introduced 4/1/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no action.
HR 1860 (Lundine + 7)	Expansion of U.S. foreign investment linked with participation in the international financial system and U.S. development policy. Introduced 4/1/85; referred to Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Ways and Means Committees; no further action.
HR 1892 (Kaptur + 7)	Analysis and redress of U.S. trade imbalance with Japan. Introduced 4/2/85; referred to Ways and Means; no further action.
HR 1926 (Pease + 23)	Trade Adjustment Assistance Act renewal. Introduced 4/2/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; hearing by Ways and Means subcommittee 6/24/85; (26B 7/26/85).
HR 1944 (Hillis + 3)	Import surcharge on Japanese products. Introduced 4/3/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no action.
HR 1950 (Guarini + 95)	Trade Law Modernization Act. Introduced 4/3/85; referred to Ways and Means, Energy/Commerce Committees; hearings 6/26/85. (25B, 6/5/85).
HR 2006 (Kaptur + 0)	Quotas on Japanese auto imports. Introduced 4/4/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
HR 2015 (Regula + 10)	Tariff surcharge to offset cost of U.S. defense assistance. Introduced 4/4/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
HR 2037 (Rinaldo + 0)	Protection of telephone terminal equipment industry. Introduced 4/15/85; referred to Energy/Commerce Committee; no further action.
HR 2115 (Fiedler + 5)	Response to unfair foreign trade practices initiated by Congress. Introduced 4/18/85; referred to Ways and Means; no further action.
HR 2120 (Lundine + 2)	Import surcharge tied to deficit reduction. Introduced 4/18/85; referred to Ways and Means; no further action.
HR 2156 (Hunter + 6)	Expansion of Japanese market for U.S. agricultural products. Introduced 4/22/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
HR 2248 (Wirth + 12)	Amendment to authorization requiring reciprocity in auto import certification measures. Introduced 4/25/85; approved for full Energy/Commerce Committee consideration by subcommittee 6/18/85 (24B, 6/28/85).

HR 2341 (McCurdy + 1)	Tariffs on martial arts uniforms. Introduced 5/2/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
HR 2345 (Moore + 0)	Definition of natural resource subsidies. Introduced 5/2/85; referred to Ways and Means; trade subcommittee hearings 5/15/85, (22B, 6/14/85).
HR 2354 (Anthony + 8)	Tariffs on motor fuel and byproducts. Introduced 5/6/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
HR 2451 (Gibbons + 63)	Amendment to Tariff Act of 1930, applies countervailing duties to natural resource input subsidies. Introduced 5/9/85; hearings by Ways and Means trade subcommittee 6/6/85, approved for full committee as amended 10/24/85, (42B, 11/1/85).
HR 2582 (Bryant + 17)	Reciprocity in international investment policy. Introduced 5/22/85; referred to Energy/Commerce, and Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs Committees; no action.
HR 2607 (Donnelly + 31)	Strengthen U.S. competitiveness in international trade and response to unfair trade practices. Introduced 5/23/85; referred to Ways and Means; no action.
HR 2809 (Murtha + 14)	Trade Law Reform package. Introduced 6/19/85; referred to Ways and Means; no further action.
HR 2934 (Bedell + 0)	Fair Rate of Exchange Act. Introduced 7/9/85; referred jointly to Ways and Means, Foreign Affairs Committees; no further action.
HR 3035 (Rostenkowski + 101)	Trade Emergency and Export Promotion Act including 25% import surcharge. Introduced 7/18/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; trade subcommittee hearing 9/17/85 (37B, 9/27/85).
HR 3075 (McDade + 0)	Amendment to Trade Act of 1974 to insure reciprocal trade opportunities. Introduced 7/24/85; referred to Ways and Means, Foreign Affairs, Energy/Commerce, Judiciary, Rules Committees; no further action.
HR 3131 (Wirth + 37)	Retaliation against barriers to U.S. telecommunications products. Introduced 7/31/85; referred to Energy/Commerce Committee; approved by two subcommittees 10/2,3/85; approved by full committee 11/21/85; requested by Ways and Means Committee for review (46B, 12/6/85).
HR 3296 (Johnson + 8)	Mixed credits program. Introduced 9/12/85; referred to Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs, Foreign Affairs Committees; Foreign Affairs subcommittee hearings held 10/2,16,22/85; Banking subcommittee hearing held 10/23/85 (45B, 11/22/85).
HR 3350 (Markey + 0)	Telecommunications fair trade bill. Introduced 9/18/95; referred to Ways and Means, Energy/Commerce Committees; no further action.
HR 3439 (Matsui + 9)	Telecommunications Trade Act. Introduced 9/26/85; referred to Ways and Means, Energy/Commerce Committees; no further action.
HR 3515 (Wylie + 63)	Export financing program-mixed credits. Introduced 10/7/85; referred to Banking/ Finance/Urban Affairs, Foreign Affairs; Foreign Affairs subcommittee hearings 10/2,16,22/85; Banking subcommittee hearings 10/23/85 (47B, 12/13/85).
HR 3522 (Michel + 127)	House Republican trade reform package. Introduced 10/8/85; referred to Ways and Means, Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs, Judiciary, Energy/Commerce Committees; no further action (41B, 10/25/85).
HR 3535 (Dornan + 0)	Controls on export of capital from U.S. Introduced 10/09/85; referred to Foreign Affairs Committee; no further action.
HR 3573 (Lundine + 21)	Concerns exchange rate controls, international monetary talks. Introduced 10/16/85; referred to Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs, Ways and Means Committees; marked up by Banking subcommittee 12/04/85.
HR 3636 (Sundquist + 2)	Establishes a Department of Trade. Introduced 10/28/85; referred to Government Operations Committee; no further action.
HR 3655 (Jones + 14)	Countering restrictive practices in marine transport of autos. Introduced 10/30/85; referred to Merchant Marine, Ways and Means Committees; no further action.
HR 3667 (Neal + 7)	President's $300 million mixed credits proposal. Introduced 10/31/85; referred jointly to Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs, Foreign Affairs Committees; Banking Committee approval 12/20/85; sequentially referred back to Foreign Affairs until 2/7/85 (47B, 12/13/85).

HR 3668 (Pease + 15)	Trade package including dollar alignment, trade remedy modification, import relief. Introduced 10/31/85; referred to Ways and Means Committee; no further action.
HR 3736 (Lowery + 11)	Controls on export of capital from the U.S. Introduced 11/12/85; referred to Foreign Affairs Committee; no further action.
HR 3776 (Moorhead + 11)	Enhancement of patent, trademark and copyright infringement. Introduced 11/18/85; referred to Judiciary Committee; no further action.
HR 3777 (Dingell + 36)	Omnibus trade reform package. Introduced 11/19/85; referred to Energy/Commerce, Ways and Means Committees; reported as amended by Energy/Commerce 11/21/85.
HR 3803 (Traficant + 2)	Labeling of commodities to indicate foreign and domestic content. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Energy/Commerce Committee; no further action.
HR 3813 (Fazio + 6)	American Trade Reform Act. Introduced 11/21/85; referred to Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs, Education/Labor, Foreign Affairs, Energy/Commerce, Judiciary, Science and Technology, Ways and Means Committees; no further action.
HR 3817 (Manton + 1)	Restrictions on Cook Inlet oil exports. Introduced 11/21/85; referred to Foreign Affairs Committee; no further action.
HR 3831 (Mineta + 3)	Japanese Technical Literature Act (see S 1073). Introduced 11/21/85; referred to Science and Technology Committee.
HR 3839 (LaFalce + 0)	Exchange rates and trade competitiveness. Introduced 12/3/85; referred to Banking/ Finance/Urban Affairs Committee; no further action.
HR 3847 (McEwen + 0)	Amendments to Trade Act of 1974 to eliminate trade barriers, negotiating authority to president, export promotion. Introduced 12/3/85; referred to Ways and Means, Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs, Judiciary, Foreign Affairs, Energy/Commerce Committees; no further action.
HR 3872 (Armey + 6)	International competitiveness of the U.S. Introduced 12/6/85; referred to Foreign Affairs, Government Operations, Energy/Commerce, Judiciary Committees; no further action.
HR 3874 (LaFalce + 0)	Competitive Exchange Rate Act. Introduced 12/6/85; referred to Banking/Finance/Urban Affairs Committee; no further action.
HR 3990 (Sweeney + 0)	Comprehensive trade law reform. Introduced 12/18/85; referred to Banking/Finance/ Urban Affairs, Ways and Means Committees; no further action.
S Con Res 15 (Danforth)	Nonbinding resolution calling for retaliation against Japan for perceived failure to open domestic markets. Approved by Senate, 92-0, 3/28/85; approved by Finance Committee as legislation, 12-4, 4/2/85 (14B, 4/12/85).
S Con Res 23 (Baucus + 11)	Urges reduction of Japanese trade barriers. Introduced 2/27/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.
SR 215 (Murkowski + 0)	Calls Japanese market opening measures inadequate. Introduced 8/1/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.
SR 223 (Murkowski + 1)	Use of U.S. bottoms for auto imports. Introduced 9/18/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.
S J R 206 (Thurmond + 30)	Made in America Month. Introduced 9/24/85; passed Senate by voice 12/2/85; became law 12/11/85 (48B 12/20/85).
S 11 (Heinz + 44)	Establishes import quotas on steel products. Introduced 1/3/85; referred to Finance Committee; no action (14B, 4/12/85).
S 21 (Moynihan + 0)	Creates Department of International Trade and Industry. Introduced 1/3/85; referred to Governmental Affairs Committee; no further action (12B, 3/29/85).
S 234 (Roth + 3)	Trade Expansion Act. Authorizes new multilateral negotiating round; worker retraining programs; revision of domestic trade laws. Introduced 1/22/85; referred to Finance Committee; subcommittee hearing 9/17/85.
S 236 (Specter + 8)	Revises U.S. antidumping laws. Introduced 1/22/85; referred to Judiciary Committee; no action (14B, 4/12/85).
S 339 (Lautenberg + 15)	Software protection, establishing reciprocity as standard for extending U.S. copyright protection to software of other countries. Introduced 3/1/85; referred to Judiciary Committee; no action (8B, 3/1/85).

S 450 (Bingaman + 0)	Mandates international trade and export policy study. Introduced 2/7/85; referred to Governmental Affairs Committee; no further action.
S 609 (Byrd + 0)	Amends the Trade Act of 1974 to insure fair trade opportunities. Introduced 3/7/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.
S 680 (Thurmond + 54)	Textile and Apparel Trade Enforcement Act. Import quotas on textiles. Introduced 3/19/85; House version approved by Senate as amended 60-39 11/13/85; vetoed by president 12/17/85 (48B, 12/20/85).
S. 728 (Chafee + 1)	Establishes quantitative retrictions on imports of Japanese telecommunications products. Introduced 3/20/85; hearings adjourned by Finance subcommittee on international trade 5/3/85 .
S 761 (Murkowski + 0)	Import surcharge. Introduced 3/26/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.
S 770 (Heinz + 1)	Import surcharge on all U.S. imports from Japan. Introduced 3/28/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.
S 774 (Chiles + 2)	U.S. export promotion through elimination of Japanese nontariff trade barriers. Introduced 3/28/85; no further action.
S 883 (Heinz + 0)	Export Administration Act extension. Introduced 4/3/85; passed Senate 4/3/85; became law 7/12/85 (26B, 7/12/85).
S 906 (Gorton + 2)	Blanket import surcharge on goods from Japan and other countries with major bilateral trade deficits. Introduced 4/16/85; referred to Finance; no action.
S 942 (Danforth + 15)	Telecommunications Trade Act of 1985. Reciprocal telecommunications market access bill. Introduced 4/17/85; approved by Finance Committee as amended (incorporates certain provisions of S 728) 9/17/85; filed for floor action 12/2/85; textile amendment by Hollings 12/18/85; awaiting clearance for floor consideration (48B, 12/20/85).
S 982 (Heinz + 5)	Retaliation against Canadian lumber exports. Introduced 4/23/85; referred to Finance Committee; subcommittee hearing 10/16/85 (37B, 9/27/85).
S 1073 (Baucus + 4)	Japanese Technical Literature Act of 1985 to approve availability of science and engineering materials to the U.S. Introduced 5/6/85; passed Commerce Committee as amended 9/11/85; passed Senate by voice 11/23/85 (46B, 12/6/85).
S 1102 (Roth + 0)	Imposes Business Transfer Tax. Introduced 5/8/85 referred to Finance Committee; hearing 10/10/85.
S 1356 (Heinz + 5)	Trade Law Modernization Act. Introduced 4/3/85; hearings by Commerce Committee 5/26/85 (25B, 7/5/85).
S 1404 (Packwood + 0)	Requires presidential action against Japanese unfair foreign trade practices. Filed by Finance Committee 7/9/85; textile amendment by Hollings 12/18/85; awaiting clearance for Senate floor consideration (48B, 12/20/85).
S 1449 (Bentsen + 11)	Trade Emergency and Export Promotion Act including 25% import surcharge. Introduced 7/17/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action (28B, 7/26/85).
S 1476 (Mitchell + 4)	Fair Foreign Trade Practices Act. Modifies Section 301 to give USTR most current presidential authority. Introduced 7/19/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.
S 1493 (Heinz + 3)	Comprehensive Trade Law Reform Act (TRAC bill). Strengthen antidumping and countervailing duty provisions and transfer presidential authority to central administrating authority. Introduced 7/25/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.
S 1544 (Roth + 17)	Trade Adjustment Assistance Reform Act. Expands worker retraining programs. Merges S 23 and S 234. 7/31/85; referred to Finance Committee; hearings held 9/17/85 by trade subcommittee.
S 1679 (Grassley + 11)	National Security and Trade Act. Introduced 9/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.
S 1753 (Domenici + 1)	Trade Act of 1974 amendment to eliminate the discretion of the president to grant import relief. Introduced 10/9/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1763 (Heinz + 0) — Export financing program: mixed credits. Introduced 10/10/85; referred to Banking Committee; subcommittee hearing 10/30/85 (43B, 11/8/85).

S 1797 (Hart + 4) — Omnibus trade reform package. Introduced 10/29/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1829 (Riegle + 0) — Establishes trade data bank. Introduced 11/5/85; referred to Governmental Affairs Committee; no further action.

S 1837 (Bentsen + 46) — Senate Democratic trade reform and policy package. Introduced 11/7/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action (44B, 11/15/85).

S 1860 (Danforth + 35) — Finance Committee omnibus trade reform package. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; textile amendment by Hollings 12/18/85; no further action (46B, 12/6/85).

S 1861 (Mattingly + 14) — Establishes national trade policy. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1862 (Chafee + 17) — Eliminates barriers to trade. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1863 (Heinz + 12) — Expands Trade Act of 1974 provisions for import relief. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1864 (Mitchell + 14) — Retaliation against foreign targeting practices. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1865 (Baucus + 19) — Trade negotiation authorization. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1866 (Bradley + 14) — Establishment of exchange rate and developing-country debt policy. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Foreign Relations Committee; no further action.

S 1867 (Dole + 12) — Withdraws preferential treatment from certain developing nations. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1868 (Heinz + 12) — Amends Tariff Act of 1930 to determine dumping by nonmarket-economy countries. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1869 (Lautenberg + 17) — Enhanced protection of intellectual property rights. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1870 (Bingaman + 16) — Export promotion measures. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Governmental Affairs Committee; no further action.

S 1871 (Grassley + 12) — Strengthens remedies against imports threatening national security. Introduced 11/20/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1934 (Heinz + 0) — Export Trading Company regulations. Introduced 12/12/85; referred to Banking Committee; no further action.

S 1981 (Murkowski + 4) — Provides duty on surimi. Introduced 12/18/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

S 1989 (Hawkins + 3) — Seeks to open Japanese markets to U.S. semiconductors and establish fair conditions for trade. Introduced 12/19/85; referred to Finance Committee; no further action.

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